The Narrative Structure of the Hexaemeron

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> Wer die Moſaiſche Urkunde von der Schöpfung aller Dinge unterſuchen will, ſollte das Gutachten andrer darüber voraus gar nicht wiſſen, um ſelbſt deſto unbefangener denken und unterſuchen zu können. Iſt er, wie gewöhnlich, in dieſer glüklichen Tage nicht; ſo muß er alles vergeſſen, was er als Zögling, Jüngling und Mann von Kennern und Nichtkennern, Geweyhten und Ungeweyhten, Naturforſchern und Religionslehrern hat reden, lehren, träumen hören – ſonſt iſt er verloren, und verſinkt, wie ſeine Vorgänger, von Irrwiſchen verführt, in Moräſten und Sümpfen.
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> — Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, "Urgeschichte. Ein Versuch," *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur* 4 (1779): 130.

With some slight differences in presentation, practically all commentators on the book of Genesis ascribe a particular symmetrical arrangement to the narrative structure of the six day account of creation in Gen 1:1–31 known as the Hexaemeron.[1] As described by Sarna, this structure is one in which the six days are "divided into two parallel groups, each of which comprises four creative acts performed in three days. The third day in each group is distinguished by two productions."[2] There are thus said to be a total of eight creative acts that are divided into two triads of days. The correspondences between these eights creative acts are naturally highlighted by commentators. One example is Waltke who writes, "Each triad progresses from a first day with a single creative act, light *matched* by luminaries, to a second day with one creative act with two aspects, sky and seas *paired* with fish and birds, to a third day with two separate creative acts, dry land and vegetation *coupled* with land animals and humans."[3] Perhaps the name most widely associated with this proposed narrative structure today is Kline who connects the two triads with "creation kingdoms" and "creation kings" and their creative acts with "two-register space."[4] Sarna gives the following diagram of his version of the structure in his commentary on Genesis for the JPS Torah Commentary series:[5]

[1] The term 'Hexaemeron' derives from the Greek word ἑξαήμερος (*hexaēmeros*), a compound of the words ἕξ (*hex*) "six" and ἡμέρα (*hēmera*) "day." As stated in the paragraph, the term is used here to refer to the six day account of creation in Gen 1:1–31. The term is also used to refer to treatises which discuss the six day account of creation.

[2] Nahum M. Sarna, *JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis* (Philadelphia, Pa.: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 4.

[3] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Literary Genre of Genesis, Chapter One," *Crux* 27/4 (1991): 6 (Italics added).

[4] See Meredith G. Kline, "Space and Time in the Genesis Cosmogony," *Perspectives on Science and the Christian Faith* 48/1 (Mar 1996): 2–15.

[5] Sarna, *Genesis*, 4.

Group I The Resource		***Group II The Utilizer***	
Day	***Creative Act***	***Day***	***Creative Act***
1	Light	4	The Luminaries
2	Sky, leaving terrestrial waters	5	Fish and fowl
3	Dry land	6	Land creatures
	Vegetation		Humankind
	(Lowest form of organic life)		(Highest form of organic life)

Yet what some have called a "powerful symmetry"[6] in the proposed structure, a symmetry which purportedly displays "a completely harmonious balance,"[7] others have found to be not so exact. For example, it seems odd that the ימים "Seas" (Gen 1:10) should be assigned to the second day when the text clearly states that they come into being on the third day after the waters below the heavens collect (Gen 1:9–10). It is also strange to see vegetation associated with only the land creatures and mankind when the text also includes flying creatures in the provision of food (Gen 1:30).[8] It is problems such as these which lead Skinner to speak of "a remarkable, though *not perfect*, parallelism between the two great divisions."[9] Wenham calls the arrangement "*highly problematic"* and says "Many attempts have been made to discover a simpler, more symmetrical arrangement underlying the present scheme. None of these suggestions has proved persuasive."[10] Westermann gives an even more dire assessment:

> One of the first difficulties to which scholars drew attention in the course of the exegesis of Gen 1 was that the number of the works of creation did not agree with the number of days. Eight works are distributed over six days, with two on each of the third and sixth days. The many attempts to solve the problem are recorded in W.H. Schmidt's survey, pp. 9–20.[11] The general opinion today is that "the framework of the seven days belongs to a later stage in the history of the text." … A systematization of the succession of the works of creation is already there in the numbering of the days; and this is something completely different from the succession of the works of creation determined by the object actually created.
>
> *All attempts to bring the works of creation into a systematic order must be given up*. There was never any intention of doing this… [T]he arrangement can be explained much better by the confluence of many strands of traditions and

[6] Henri Blocher, *In the Beginning: The Opening Chapters of Genesis*, trans. David G. Preston (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1984), 51.

[7] Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis, Part I: From Adam to Noah*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 17.

[8] For still other problems, see Edward J. Young, "The Days of Genesis First Article," *Westminster Theological Journal* 25.1 (1962): 26–31.

[9] John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; New York, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 9 (Italics added).

[10] Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987), 6 (Italics added).

[11] The reference here is to Werner H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*, 3d rev. ed. (WMANT 17,3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973).

> motifs from a variety of earlier creation stories. This too is the source of much of the unevenness in the narrative.[12]

Thus for all its widespread acceptance, a symmetrical arrangement of the narrative ultimately leads to greater confusion and therefore fails to bring the expected clarity befitting an organizational structure. In contrast, this paper will present an alternative narrative structure to the one commonly presented by commentators which will hopefully advance future discussions of Gen 1:1–31. As will become evident, the narrative structure presented here not only better accounts for the textual features of the Hexaemeron than a symmetrical arrangement does, but also proves to be more emic to an ancient Israelite perspective. This last point follows from the fact that the narrative structure presented in this paper is grounded in key observations made by ancient writers which have not been fully appreciated within modern scholarship. An outline and diagram of the proposed structure may be found at the end of this paper which provide an overview for the reader. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to discussing the organizing principles of the narrative structure.

The Hexaemeron and the Seventh Day

The narrative of Gen 1:1–2:3 is most obviously divided into seven textual blocks designated as days in the text.[13] Among these days there is a clear difference between the first six covered by Gen 1:1–31 and the seventh covered by Gen 2:1–3. Whereas the first six days concern divine creative activities, the seventh day highlights the completion of and cessation from these activities. The first six days are also delineated in the text by the distinctive closing refrain X־יום בקר ויהי ערב ויהי "And there was evening and there was morning, day X."[14] Four of these days are numbered with indeterminate ordinals, e.g., יום שני "a second day" (Gen 1:8).[15] However, the first day is numbered with a cardinal number, יום אחד "one day" (Gen 1:5), while the sixth is numbered with a determined ordinal, יום הששי "the sixth day" (Gen 1:31).[16] The use of a determined ordinal on the sixth day contrasts with the previous indeterminate days and suggests that the sixth day is to be viewed as significant. The same is true for יום השביעי "the seventh day" which is also numbered with a determined ordinal (Gen 2:2).[17] The significance in the numbering of these two days is best viewed in the light of the

[12] Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1987), 88–9 (Italics added).

[13] These textual blocks are reinforced in the Masoretic Text (M) with *pətûḥôt* (open sections) after each instance of the closing refrain. In the Samaritan Pentateuch these textual blocks are reinforced through the use of *qitza* (֫) at the end of the closing refrain followed by an empty line.

[14] See vv. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31.

[15] The other days are the third, fourth and fifth days.

[16] There is no need to attribute significance in the use of the cardinal *one* (אחד) in place of the ordinal *first* (ראשון) in Gen 1:5 since the use of the cardinal for the ordinal is in itself unexceptional (cf. *IBHS* §15.2.1b). Nevertheless, ancient Judean writers did attribute special significance to the use of the cardinal here (cf. Philo, *Opif.* 35 and Josephus, *Antiq.* 1.29).

[17] "The exceptional definite article [in the phrase "the sixth day"] and with the seventh day points to the special character of these days within

difference in content noted earlier, with יום הששי "the sixth day" highlighting the completion of the six day group, the Hexaemeron (Gen 1:1–31), and יום השביעי "the seventh day" highlighting the singular importance of this day (Gen 2:1–3). Since the focus of the present paper is on the Hexaemeron, let us turn to consider some additional features that contribute to its narrative structure.

"And Elohim Said"

After the six days, the next most important feature of the text which contributes to the structure is the formula ויאמר אלהים "and *Elohim* said." This formula occurs nine times in the text with at least one instance appearing in each day.[18] It is important to observe that this formula is not only used at the start of a day nor only in connection with a creative pronouncement. Thus, one finds the formula is used in the middle of day one to introduce a creative pronouncement after the initial creation of the heavens and the earth.[19] The formula is also found in the middle of the third and sixth days to introduce additional creative pronouncements in those days.[20] Finally, the formula is found in the middle of the sixth day to introduce a proclamation concerning a provision of food.[21] Therefore in four of its nine occurrences (44%) the phrase is not used by the author to initiate the start of a new day. If the phrase is not intended to initiate the start of a new day, what does the author intend by its use?

As is clear from the *wayyiqṭōl* verb used in the formula, its use is first and foremost to be sought within the "backbone" of the narrative. Here it may be noted that the first occurrence of the formula in v. 3 also constitutes the author's first use of a *wayyiqṭōl* verb in the narrative. This, when viewed in conjunction with its repeated use throughout the narrative, establishes the formula as in fact the *main* constituent of the narrative's backbone. The first occurrence in v. 3 is preceded by a description of the earth as תהו ובהו "a barren waste"[22] in v. 2 after its initial creation in v. 1. The formula's use in v. 3 is therefore to be understood as a result clause which relates the response taken to address this situation. Yet this response does not simply end with the formula in v. 3, but extends through the narrative to the other occurrences of this formula, i.e., "So *Elohim* said" (v. 3) … "Then *Elohim* said" (v. 6), etc. In this way, the formula is used by the author to relate the individual steps taken to bring the earth into a habitable state.

the scheme of Creation" (Sarna, *Genesis*, 14).

[18] See vv. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29.

[19] v. 3. On the reading of v. 1 as an independent clause, see Mebaqqer, *Understanding* בראשית *in Light of The Narrative Structure of the Hexaemeron* (Academia.edu, 2024).

[20] vv. 11, 26.

[21] v. 29.

[22] Heb. תהו ובהו. Lit., "a waste and a barren." Compare Jer 4:23, 28: "I looked at the earth, and behold, ***a barren waste*** (תהו ובהו), and to the heavens, but their light was not… on account of this the earth *shall dry up* (תאבל) and the heavens shall become dark." Note that the verb תאבל "shall dry up" here is correctly parsed as √אבל II (= *Tg. Ps.-J* תחרוב "it shall become waste"), not as √אבל I, i.e., "it shall mourn." Compare also *Tg. Onq.* צדיא ורוקניא "desolate and empty." For a more detailed discussion, see David Toshio Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction: A Reappraisal of the Chaoskampf Theory in the Old Testament* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 9–35.

Therefore, after its initial occurrence in v. 3, the formula also serves as an indicator of further narrative movements within the following days. While this use of the formula as a structuring device is apparently not recognized in either the Masoretic Text or in the Samaritan Pentateuch, two of the manuscripts from the Dead Sea evidence a recognition of this use through their own use of additional *vacats*.[23]

The Twenty-two Works of Creation

It was noted above that the prevailing view of the narrative structure of the Hexaemeron assumes that it encompasses eight creative acts. These eight creative acts are identified by scholars on the basis of the formula "And *Elohim* said" followed by a clause with a volitional main verb.[24] While this procedure focuses on this formula and the following command, another would be to focus on the executions of those commands, that is, on the works actually created themselves. Interestingly, this is precisely the procedure followed in the earliest sustained treatment of the Hexaemeron, the Judean pseudepigraphal work known today as *Jubilees*.

Dated to the second century BCE,[25] *Jubilees* may be described essentially as an interpretive rewrite of Genesis 1–Exodus 24. With respect to its role as a rewritten biblical text, VanderKam observes that "The relation of Jubilees to Genesis–Exodus is not as a replacement but *as a guide*, as a means of helping the reader derive the correct message from the biblical material and ensuring that the wrong conclusions were not drawn from it."[26] This of course means that *Jubilees* is intended to be read in conjunction with the biblical text. The section of *Jubilees* which corresponds to Gen 1:1–2:3 is found in 2:1–33. In this section daily tallies of the kinds of work created on each of the six days are given and a complete total of *twenty-two* works is twice noted.[27] Understanding *Jubilees*' role as an aid to understanding the biblical text, it is clear that these daily tallies are intended to explicate the works of creation *as found in the text of Genesis 1*. The twenty-two works of Genesis 1 intended in *Jubilees*' tallies may be found numbered in the outline and diagram at the end of this paper following a letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

The fact that *Jubilees*' daily tallies are intended to explicate the works of creation as found in Genesis 1 is most obvious in the case of the third day where Gen 1:9–13 speaks of the creation of 1) earth, 2) seas, 3) seed sowing herbage and 4) fruit producing arborage, while

[23] See the *vacats* in 4QGen^{g}, frg. 1 line 12 before verse 11 and 4QGen^{d}, frg. 1 line 9 before verse 26. 4QGen^{b}, a manuscript "virtually identical with the Massoretic Text" (DJD XII, 31), does not evidence this additional spacing (cf. 4QGen^{b}, frg. 1 col. i line 12).

[24] "The fiat (And God said, Let …) introduces (both in MT and G) each of the eight works of creation (vv. 3. 6. 9. 11. 14. 20. 24. 26)" (Skinner, *Genesis*, 8).

[25] For a discussion of the date of *Jubilees*, see James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees 1–21*, Vol. I, ed. Sidnie White Crawford (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2018), 28–38. VanderKam argues for "a time not too far from the 160s—perhaps the 150s" (VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary I*, 38).

[26] VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary I*, 39 (Italics added).

[27] *Jub*. 2:3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 23. Note that a number of still later works also recognize the twenty-two works of the Hexaemeron: Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 21.22 (4th cent. CE), *Myst. litt.* 3 (6th cent. CE), *Midr. Tadshe* 6.9 (10th–12th cent. CE) and *Chron. 1234* 29.29 (13th cent. CE).

Jub. 2:5–7, enumerating this number of works correctly, introduces still other bodies of water and types of vegetation into its own narrative. A failure to appreciate this fact naturally leads VanderKam to state "It is not entirely clear what the four works are."[28] It must therefore be stressed that, however else the author of *Jubilees* may elaborate on them in his own composition, these twenty-two works are exegetically derived from the text of Genesis itself and are thus not an eisegetical creation of the author. One must therefore disagree with VanderKam's assessment that "The writer of Jubilees has reworked Genesis' eight acts of creation into 22 because this harmonizes with his larger purpose of stressing the sabbath and its significance in God's universe and plan."[29] Such a characterization does not comport with the clear exegetical derivation of these twenty-two works nor the author's intent that *Jubilees* serve as a guide to understanding the text of Genesis–Exodus. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the writer of *Jubilees* found the twenty-two works of the Hexaemeron serviceable to his larger purpose.

While *Jubilees* is helpful in elucidating the twenty-two works from the narrative of Genesis 1, it is less helpful in addressing the question of how these works are organized in the narrative. Yet already a consideration of the twenty-two works alone is suggestive—day 1 encompasses *seven* works,[30] day 2 encompasses *one* creative fiat with *one* work, day 3 encompasses *two* creative fiats with *two* works each, days 4–6 encompass *three* creative fiats with *three* works each, the creation of mankind on day 6 evidently being exceptional among the inhabitants. The 1-2-3 pattern seen in days 2–6 is clearly intentional and serves to group these days together while distinguishing them from day 1.[31] As will be seen below, this distinction of day 1 from the other five days is indeed an integral part of the structure of the Hexaemeron.

THREE
The Aliquots of Six

Early in his treatise *De opificio mundi* the Judean exegete Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE – c. 50 CE) argues that since creation most likely occurred simultaneously, the sequence of six days in Genesis 1 is best understood in terms of arrangement rather than chronology.[32]

[28] James C. VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1/3 (1994): 311. VanderKam suggests that the four works are "the dried land, the sundry receptacles for the earth's waters, things that grow from seeds, and the Garden of Eden" (VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," 311). VanderKam's diffidence remains in his more recent commentary (cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary I*, 188).

[29] VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," 318.

[30] In distinction to the first six works, only the seventh is associated with a creative fiat. The reason for this is related to the use of the formula ויאמר אלהים which, as shown above, is not connected with creative pronouncements per se as is normally assumed, but with *divine pronouncements related to making the earth into a habitable place*. This is why the formula is also used in connection with the provision of food on the sixth day and why it is not used in connection with the first six works of day one.

[31] This 1-2-3 pattern within the structure is highlighted in the outline above with bolded tallies of the works and a superscripted Roman numeral after the formula which introduces them. In the diagram this pattern is highlighted by Roman numerals preceding the verses involved.

[32] *Opif.* 13. Berchman calls Philo's view of a simultaneous creation "a standard proposition in ancient philosophical theology" (Robert M. Berchman, "Arithmos and Kosmos: Arithmology as an Exegetical Tool in the *De Opificio Mundi* of Philo of Alexandria," in *Gnosticism, Platonism and the Late Antique World. Essays in Honour of John D. Turner* (ed. K. Corrigan and T. Rasimus; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 180).

Later in a passage reminiscent of Gen 2:2, Exod 20:11 and 31:17, Philo focuses on the number six itself, stating, "When the entire cosmos had been completed in accordance with the nature of the perfect number six, the Father proceeded to honour the seventh day which followed by praising it and calling it holy."[33] In this passage Philo ascribes a quality of perfection to the number six which is not found in the three biblical texts noted. Philo explains the nature of this perfection earlier in the same treatise:

> Of the numbers (proceeding) from the unit, six is the first perfect number. It is equal to (the product of) its parts and is also formed by their sum, namely the three as its half and the two as its third and the unit as its sixth. It is also, so to speak, both male and female by nature, forming a harmonic union out of the product of each of them, for among existing things the odd is male and the female is even. The first of the odd numbers is the three, of the even numbers it is the two, and the product of both is the six. So it was right that the cosmos, as the most perfect of the things that have come into existence, be built in accordance with the perfect number six, and, because births resulting from coupling would take place in it, also be formed in relation to a mixed number, the first even-odd number which contains both the form of the male who sows the seed and the form of the female who receives it.[34]

What is of interest for our purposes here are the aliquots of six: one, two and three.[35] It does not appear that Philo himself finds these aliquots significant to the organization of the Hexaemeron. Their importance for him lies in how they arithmetically imbue the number six with perfection, a perfection which he then ascribes to creation due to the six day sequence.

Yet Philo is not the only writer to discuss six as a perfect number in relation to the days of creation. Robbins in his study of hexaemeral literature notes that Philo is ultimately the source of similar statements on the perfection of six by later Christian writers which he describes as "a commonplace" in the medieval writings of Latin speaking Christians.[36] Just before the start of the medieval period, Augustine (354 – 430 CE), whom Robbins calls "the chief authority

[33] David T. Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (PACS 1; Leiden' Brill, 2001), 70; *Opif*. 89: ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐτελειώθη κατὰ τὴν ἑξάδος ἀριθμοῦ τελείου φύσιν, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἑβδόμην ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἁγίαν προσειπών·

[34] Runia, *On the Creation*, 49; *Opif*. 13–14: τῶν τε γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος πρῶτος τέλειός ἐστιν ἰσούμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ συμπληρούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἡμίσους μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυάδος, ἕκτου δὲ μονάδος, καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἄρρην τε καὶ θῆλυς εἶναι πέφυκε κἀκ τῆς ἑκατέρου δυνάμεως ἥρμοσται· ἄρρεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ περιττόν, τὸ δ᾽ ἄρτιον θῆλυ· περιττῶν μὲν οὖν ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ τριάς, δυὰς δ᾽ ἀρτίων, ἡ δ᾽ ἀμφοῖν δύναμις ἑξάς. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κόσμον τελειότατον μὲν ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων κατ᾽ ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγῆναι τὸν ἕξ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ δ᾽ ἔχειν μέλλοντα τὰς ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ γενέσεις πρὸς μικτὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρτιοπέριττον τυπωθῆναι, περιέξοντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σπείροντος ἄρρενος καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου τὰς γονὰς θήλεος ἰδέαν.

[35] The term 'aliquot' refers to an exact divisor of a number. As Philo notes above, six is exactly divisible by three (6 ÷ **3** = 2), two (6 ÷ **2** = 3) and one (6 ÷ **1** = 6). Additionally, six is defined as a 'perfect number' since it is equal to the sum of its three aliquots (**1** + **2** + **3** = 6).

[36] Frank Egleston Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago, 1912), 29.

of the mediaeval Latin writers on creation,"[37] would make an important observation. Marking an advance on Philo's arithmological exegesis, Augustine notes that the works of creation are actually ordered according to the aliquots of six:

> And I am even more intrigued by this number when I consider the order of the works of creation. For they are ordered like the number six itself, which rises in three steps from its parts. One, two, and three follow in order, without the possibility of any other number being inserted; and these are the parts of which six is composed, one being a sixth, two being a third, and three being a half.[38]

Augustine, who is evidently unaware of the tradition explicating the twenty-two works of Genesis 1, then elaborates on the distribution of the works of creation:

> Thus, on one day light was created; on the two following days the universe was created, the higher part, or firmament, on one day, the lower part, namely, sea and earth, on the other. God did not fill the higher part with any material creatures to serve as nourishment, because He did not intend to place there any bodies needing such food. But on the lower regions, which He was to adorn with living creatures, each in its proper place, He first lavishly bestowed the things they would need for their sustenance. On the remaining three days, therefore, those things were created which, being contained within the universe, that is, this visible creation composed of all the elements, are themselves visible and are moved with their own proper motions. First, in the firmament, because it had been made first, He placed the heavenly bodies. Then in the lower regions He made the living creatures as right order demanded, on one day the creatures of the waters, on another day those of the land.[39]

Augustine's arrangement of the works of creation may be diagrammed as follows:

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[37] Robbins, *Hexaemeral Literature*, 64.

[38] *St. Augustine: The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. John Hammond Taylor, eds. Johannes Quasten et al., Vol. 1 (ACW 41; Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1982), 106–7. Augustine, *Gen. litt*. 4.2.6: *magis autem in istum numerum intentus fio, cum considero etiam ordinem operum ipsorum. sicut enim idem numerus gradati partibus suis in trigonum surgit — nam ita sequuntur unum, duo, tria, ut nullus alius interponi possit, quae singulae senarii partes sunt quibus constat: unum sexta, duo tertia, tria dimidia.*

[39] Taylor, *The Literal Meaning*, 107. *Gen. litt*. 4.2.6: *ita uno die facta est lux, duobus autem sequentibus fabrica mundi huius: uno superior pars, id est firmamentum, altero inferior, id est mare et terra sed partem superiorem nullis alimentorum corporalium generibus inpleuit, quia non ibi erat posituras corpora tali refectione indigentia, at inferiorem, quam sibi congruentibus animalibus ornaturus erat, necessariis eorum indigentiae cibis ante ditauit. reliquis ergo tribus diebus ea creata sunt, quae intra mundum, id est intra istam uniuersitatem uisibilem ex elementis omnibus factam, uisibilia suis et congruis motibus agerentur. primo in firmamento luminaria, quia prius erat factum firmamentum, deinde in inferiore animantia, sicut ordo ipse poscebat, uno die aquarum, alio terrarum.*

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">1</th><th colspan="2">2</th><th colspan="2">3</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Day 1
Gen 1:3–5</td><td rowspan="3">Light</td><td>Day 2
Gen 1:6–8</td><td>Firmament</td><td>Day 4
Gen 1:14–19</td><td>Heavenly Bodies</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Day 3
Gen 1:9–13</td><td>Sea</td><td>Day 5
Gen 1:20–23</td><td>Water Creatures</td></tr>
<tr><td>Earth</td><td>Day 6
Gen 1:24–31</td><td>Land Creatures</td></tr>
</table>

Due to Augustine's influence, this tripartite division of the Hexaemeron is also assumed by Latin Christian writers of the medieval period such as Bede in the 8th century and Peter Lombard in the 12th century.[40] Its displacement appears to be due to the influence of Thomas Aquinas who formalized an alternative tripartite division in his *Summa theologica* (13th century CE) based on the categories of *the work of creation* (*opus creationis*), *the work of distinction* (*opus distinctionis*) and *the work of adornment* (*opus ornatus*).[41] This displacement has been most unfortunate for interpreters of the Hexaemeron since it is Augustine's arrangement that ultimately proves to be the one most faithful to the narrative of Genesis 1. This becomes clear once the six days of creation are organized according to the aliquot parts of six while also incorporating the twenty-two works of creation as has been done in the outline and diagram at the end of this paper.

Focusing on days 2–6 in this aliquot arrangement, the correspondences between the textual divisions are obvious and natural as are the correspondences between the works they encompass. Once properly arranged it is clear that the main subject of days 2–3 (Aliquot 2) is *the preparation of habitats* while the main subject of days 4–6 (Aliquot 3) is *the population of habitats*. The three habitats are all named in Aliquot 2. Vegetation is produced on day 3 as part of the preparation of the earth for habitation and a corresponding command is given on day 6 concerning the use of this vegetation for food. Apart from this, the three kinds of inhabitants in Aliquot 3 are associated with each of the three habitats specified in Aliquot 2.[42] An exceptional inhabitant is found in the case of mankind which is also associated with the earth. One may

[40] See Bede, *In Gen*. 1.398–415 and Peter Lombard, *Sent*. 2.14.9. Note that, contra Brown, Lombard's arrangement is *not* established on the basis of the categories of *distinctio* and *ornatio* and only evidences correspondences in days 2–6 (See Andrew J. Brown, *The Days of Creation: A History of Christian Interpretation of Genesis 1:1–2:3* (HBI 4; Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2014), 69).

[41] See Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1.70.1. Aquinas' arrangement is already suggested by earlier writers who alter Augustine's original aliquot division in light of the categories of *distinctio* and *ornatio*. For example, see Hugh of St. Victor (12th cent. CE), *Sacr*. 1.1.24–25.

[42] Some may perhaps find difficulty with the seemingly odd association of flying creatures on day 5 with the habitation of the "Seas" on day 3. However, this is ultimately due to an aqueous conception of the air. This point is not explicitly made in the text, but is culturally assumed on the part of the reader and is based on a mundane observance of air humidity. It is this which allows the author to associate the creation of flying creatures on day 5 with the seas on day 3. Writing in Greek, in which, unlike Hebrew, the concept of air (ἀήρ) is specifically found, both Philo (*Opif*. 63) and Josephus (*Antiq*. 1.32) naturally associate flying creatures with the air. Yet in the same passage Philo also relates flying creatures to aquatic ones by calling both types swimmers (νηκτός). This assumes that the act of flying is actually a form of swimming which in turn betrays an aqueous conception of the air. Augustine later articulates an aqueous conception of the air even more explicitly: "Here [the Manicheans] usually find fault, questioning, or rather misrepresenting, Scripture for saying that not merely those animals that live in the water, but also those which fly in the air, and all winged creatures were born from the waters. Let all those who are upset by these difficulties know that learned men who carefully investigate these matters usually include with the water this cloudy and moist air in which birds fly. For it comes together and becomes dense with the exhalations and what I might call vapors of the sea and land, and it becomes in a sense thick

further note how the aliquot division of the Hexaemeron leads to a 1:2 distribution of five works for Aliquot 2 and ten works for Aliquot 3. This is in addition to the 1-2-3 pattern seen in days 2–6 that was noted earlier from a consideration of the list of twenty-two works alone. The correspondences seen in days 2–6 in this arrangement are thus far more elegant and concrete than those proposed in symmetrical arrangements.

Yet however elegant the correspondences found in the works of days 2–6 may be, there is still a question of how day 1 figures into the narrative structure given this arrangement. As it turns out, the aliquot division of the Hexaemeron represents a deeper arrangement which is subsumed under still another. It is this overarching arrangement which ultimately accounts for the distinction of day 1 relative to the other days within the Hexaemeron.

Two

The Compartments of the Dwelling

Exod 25–31 provides instructions for the construction of a portable sanctuary known as המשכן "the dwelling." The structure that results from these instructions is a rectangular bipartite one with two compartments. The first compartment, comprising two-thirds of the structure's 30 cubit length, is designated הקדש "the holy place," while the second compartment, comprising the remaining one-third of the structure's length, is designated קדש הקדשים "the holiest holy place." Interestingly, tradition reaching back to at least the Judean Second-Temple period maintains that there is cosmological significance to be found in the features of this sanctuary. One of those reflecting this tradition is the Judean historian Josephus (37 – c. 100 CE) who writes in his *Judean Antiquities*,

> Within, dividing its length into three parts, he set up four pillars, located ten cubits from the remotest corner, constructed like the others and resting upon similar bases but at a slight distance from each other. The area within them was a sanctuary, but the rest of the Tent was permitted to the priests. It happened that such an arrangement of the Tent was also *an imitation of the nature of the universe*. For its third part, which is within the four pillars, which was inaccessible to the priests, like heaven, was set aside for God, while the twenty cubits, just as the earth and sea are accessible to men, were thus consigned to

from this moisture so that it can support the flight of birds. Thus on calm nights it produces dew, and drops of this dew are found on the grass in the morning." (*St. Augustine: On Genesis: Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: An Unfinished Book*, trans. Roland J. Teske (*FC* 84; Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 71. Augustine, *Gen. Man.*, 1.15(24): *Hic solent reprehendere, quaerentes vel potius calumniantes, quare animalia non solum ea quae in aquis vivunt, sed etiam ea quae in aere volitant, et omnia pennata de aquis nata scriptum sit. Sed sciant omnes quos haec movent, istum aerem nebulosum et humidum, in quo aves volant, a doctissimis hominibus qui haec diligenter inquirunt, cum aquis solere deputari. Concrescit enim et crassus efficitur exhalationibus et quasi vaporibus maris et terrae, et de ipso humore pinguescit quodammodo ut volatus avium portare possit. Ideo per noctes serenas etiam rorat, cuius roris guttae mane in herbis inveniuntur*).

> the priests alone.[43]

Here one can see how Josephus attributes cosmological significance to the structure of the dwelling, viewing the area of the holy place as symbolic of the earth and sea and the holiest holy place as symbolic of heaven.

A still earlier Judean work which attributes cosmological significance to the structure of the dwelling is Philo's work *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum*. This work, now mostly preserved in its Armenian translation, provides answers to various questions related to the book of Exodus, nearly half of which concern the dwelling and its furnishings.[44] Summarizing the cosmological significance of the placement of the furnishings within the dwelling, Philo writes, "… the things in the inner recess are invisible and noetic, whereas those which are more external are visible and aesthetic."[45] Therefore, even while agreeing with Josephus in attributing cosmological significance to the dwelling, Philo differently associates the holiest holy place with a "noetic cosmos" (κόσμος νοητός) and the holy place with an "aesthetic cosmos" (κόσμος αἰσθητός).

Schwartz, taking note of the similarities and differences in the expositions of the symbolism of the dwelling (and the temple) by Philo and Josephus, writes,

> There is a great deal of material given by Philo but not by Josephus… [T]hough there are similarities in overall conception and in details, there are also major differences. It seems best to conclude that Josephus' interpretation of the Temple does not depend directly on *V.Mos.* or *QE*; more likely, *both drew on priestly traditions* which Josephus presented unadorned, and Philo in a characteristically philosophical manner. That such traditions existed seems certain.[46]

Philo's exposition then, although couched in philosophical terms, provides a more descriptive account of the symbolism of the dwelling derived from earlier priestly traditions. It therefore follows that these earlier traditions should be recoverable by judiciously filtering out Philo's philosophical formulations of them while keeping an eye on both Josephus' less detailed

[43] Louis H. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (BJP 1; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 263; Josephus, *Antiq*. 3.122–23: Ἐντὸς δὲ διελὼν τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς εἰς τρία μέρη μετὰ δέκα πήχεας ἡρμοσμένους ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ τέσσαρας ἵστησι κίονας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰργασμένους καὶ βάσεσιν ὁμοίαις ἐπικειμένους διαλείποντας ἀλλήλων κατ᾽ ὀλίγον. τὸ δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω αὐτῶν ἄδυτον ἦν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡ σκηνὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀνεῖτο. τὴν μέντοι διαμέτρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως συνέβαινεν εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τρίτον αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων, ὃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν ἄβατον, ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνεῖτο τῷ θεῷ, οἱ δ᾽ εἴκοσι πήχεις, ὥσπερ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα βάσιμος ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ἐπετέτραπτο.

[44] See *QE* 2.50–106.

[45] *Questions and Answers on Exodus*, trans. Ralph Marcus (LCL 1; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1953), 143 (Modified); *QE* 2.95: *եւ արտաքոյ վարագուրին դնի, վասն զի այնք որք ՛ի ներքին յալուցան են* (= ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτέροις μυχοῖς), *անտեսանելիք են եւ իմանալիք* (= ἀόρατα καὶ νοητά). *իսկ որ արտաքսագոյն են քան զսոսա, տեսանելիք են եւ զգալիք* (= ὁρατὰ καὶ αἰσθητά)*:*

[46] Seth Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaean Politics* (CSCT 18; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 42.

exposition and the biblical text. Once this is done, it is found that Josephus' exposition is actually better characterized as "simplified" rather than as "unadorned."

Now fundamental to Philo's exposition of the dwelling is its implicit assumption of a connection between the dwelling and the Hexaemeron.[47] This is evident in Philo's utilization of the same philosophical categories of noetic and aesthetic cosmoi in relation to both the compartments of the dwelling and the six days of creation.[48] The correspondences assumed by Philo's exposition of both of these may be diagrammed as follows:

The Noetic Cosmos	***The Aesthetic Cosmos***
The Holiest Holy Place	**The Holy Place**
Day 1 Gen 1:1–5	**Days 2–6** Gen 1:6–31

These correspondences, not actually contingent on Philo's philosophical categories themselves, provide one with the shared structure of the dwelling and the Hexaemeron from earlier priestly tradition. It also provides us with the final feature which contribues to the narrative structure of the Hexaemeron.

Above it was shown how the 1-2-3 pattern of the works of creation found in days 2–6 distinguishes them from day 1. It was also shown how the aliquot division of the six days, also yielding a 1-2-3 pattern, reinforces this distinction of day 1 from days 2–6. Now here one can see the logical basis for this distinction in days: day 1 corresponds to the holiest holy place while days 2–6 correspond to the holy place. It is this which ultimately stands behind Philo and Josephus' insistence on a deeper significance to the phrase יום אחד "one day" in Gen 1:5.[49] With all these points in hand, one is now able to bring together and present the organizing principles of the narrative structure of the Hexaemeron:[50]

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[47] The late rabbinic work *Midrash Tadshe* (10th – 12th century CE) relates this position explicitly: המשכן נעשה כנגד בריתו של עולם "the dwelling was made to correspond with the creation of the world" (*Midr. Tadshe* 2.1). Interestingly, *Midrash Tadshe* also disagrees in the particulars with its correspondences of the holiest holy place with the highest heavens, the holy place with the earth and the courtyard with the sea (*Midr. Tadshe* 2.1).

[48] Compare *Opif.* 13–128 and *QE* 2.50–106.

[49] See note 14 above.

[50] See the outline and diagram at the end of this paper for a more detailed presentation of these features.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">The Holiest Holy Place</th><th colspan="4">The Holy Place</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">1</th><th colspan="2">2</th><th colspan="2">3</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Day 1
Gen 1:1–5</td><td rowspan="5">7 Works</td><td>Day 2
Gen 1:6–8</td><td>1 Work</td><td>Day 4
Gen 1:14–19</td><td>3 Works</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Day 3
Gen 1:9–13</td><td rowspan="3">2 Works</td><td>Day 5
Gen 1:20–23</td><td>3 Works</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Day 6
Gen 1:24–31</td><td>3 Works</td></tr>
<tr><td>1 Work</td></tr>
<tr><td>2 Works</td><td>--</td></tr>
</table>

Now it is important to note that Philo's categories of noetic and aesthetic cosmoi are derived from Middle Platonism, not the earlier priestly tradition. As such, one is right to question whether these *categories* faithfully represent those intended in the distinction in the shared bipartite division of the dwelling and the Hexaemeron. Yet the same should be asked of Josephus' cosmological categories as well.

A good starting point for investigating the intended categories is to note the cosmology assumed in Genesis 1. A key verse to understanding this cosmology is Deut 10:14 which states, "Behold, to YHWH your *elohim* belong ***the heavens*** and ***the heavenliest of heavens***, the earth and everything that is in it."[51] Here one can see a distinction is made between **השמים** "the heavens" and **שמי השמים** "the heavenliest of heavens" (Lit., "the heavens of the heavens"). Philo, with this verse clearly in mind, writes, "Do you not know that to God belongs both *the aesthetic heaven* (ὁ αἰσθητός … οὐρανὸς) and *the noetic one* (ὁ νοητός), which may quite properly be called the 'heaven of heaven' … ?"[52] While Philo relates the distinction in philosophical terms, he clearly reflects one made in the biblical text. This same distinction is evident in the narrative of Genesis 1 which speaks of the *creation* (**בָּרָא**) of the heavens on day 1 on the one hand and the *making* (**עָשָׂה**) of the congealment[53] called "Heavens" on day 2 on the other. Accordingly, the heavens of Gen 1:1 are to be identified as "the Heavenliest of Heavens" and the congealment of Gen 1:7 is to be identified as "the Heavens." These same identifications are assumed in Philo's exegesis of the Hexaemeron where, once again utilizing his philosophical categories, Philo maintains that an aesthetic heaven was made on day 2 as a contrast to a noetic one made on day 1.[54] Finally, *Jubilees*' use of the phrase **השמים העליונים**

[51] הן ליהוה אלהיך השמים ושמי השמים הארץ וכל אשר בה.

[52] *The Special Laws*, trans. F. H. Colson (LCL 320; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1937), 275 (Modified). *Spec.* 1.302: ἢ τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ αἰσθητός ἐστιν οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ νοητός, ὁ κυρίως, εἴποι τις ἄν, "οὐρανὸς οὐρανοῦ" …;

[53] Heb. **רקיע**. Lit., "compaction." Compare LXX "solidiform" (στερέωμα), Vulg. "firmament" (*firmamentum*), Saadia "congealment" (جَلَد) and Ezek 1:22: ודמות על ראשי החיה רקיע כעין הקרח הנורא נטוי על ראשיהם מלמעלה "And a likeness was over the heads of the living creatures—***a congealment*** (**רקיע**), one with the appearance of tremendous *ice crystal* (**קרח**), extending over their heads above." Görg observes concerning the root **רקע**: "[T]he semic content of *rqʿ* should be looked for not in the action's spatial extension but in its description. Here the aspects of technological compression and intensive stabilization are primary… The noun [**רָקִיעַ**] bears the connotation 'compact, firm,' so that translations such as 'expanse' miss the mark" (M. Görg, "**רָקִיעַ** *rāqîaʿ*, **רָקַע** *rāqaʿ*" *TDOT* 13:648–9).

[54] See *Opif.* 29, 36.

"the highest heavens" to describe "the heavens" of day 1 also assumes the identification of these heavens with "the heavenliest of heavens."[55]

Moving on to the earth, the narrative does not speak of the creation of two earths in the way it does the two heavens. Instead, the narrative mentions the creation of the earth on day 1 followed by a description of its initial state as an abiotic aqueous body (Gen 1:1–2). Later on day 3 the narrative states that the dry land later called "Earth" *appears* (נִרְאָה) after the waters collect (Gen 1:9–10). Thus the dry land is not *made* as in the case of the congealment, but is something already present within the waters. Here it appears that it is something of the ocean which becomes dry land, the ocean floor being the most prominent aspect to the term תהום "Ocean" in light of the separate mention of the waters.[56] Thus while the narrative later restricts the term "Earth" to the dry land on day 3, it assumes that the "Earth" initially created on day 1 already includes this dry land in embryo. This differs from the two heavens which are presented as two distinctly created entities within the narrative.

Philo reads Genesis 1 somewhat differently to judge from his exegesis in *De opificio mundi*. As has already been noted, Philo maintains that day 1 "contains the noetic cosmos, something exceptional, as the account concerning it makes known."[57] Philo's biblical text, the Septuagint, describes the earth as ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος "unseen and unconstructed" in Gen 1:2 instead of as "a barren waste" as in the Hebrew text. Accordingly, he describes the earth created on day 1 as γῆς ἀόρατος "an invisible earth." Runia explains that while ἀόρατος as used in the Septuagint probably refers to the hiddenness of the earth under the waters, Philo understands the term "in the sense of 'invisible,' i.e. as referring to the realm of the ideas."[58] It thus appears that Philo understands the earth created on day 1 the same as how he understands the heavens created on this day—a noetic model for a later aesthetic one.

Yet while this is implied from *Opif*. 36,[59] a careful reading of *Opif*. 38–39, where Philo expounds on Gen 1:9–10, shows that Philo does not explicitly state that the earth he is discussing is an aesthetic one which corresponds to a noetic model. This is likely due to the fact that, as already noted, the narrative of Gen 1 itself does not speak of the creation of two earths in the way that it does the two heavens. It appears that Philo, closely following the

[55] See *Jub*. 2:2. *Jubilees* also mentions the congealment made on day 2 at *Jub*. 2:4: וביום השני עשה את הרקיע בתוך המים "And on the second day he made the congealment in the midst of the waters" (cf. 4QJub[a] [4Q216] V:12 + Ge'ez: ወበዕለተ፡ ሳኒታ፡ ገብረ፡ ምጽናዓተ፡ ማእከለ፡ ማይ፡). However, *Jubilees* does not explicitly call the congealment "heavens" as the text of Genesis does.

[56] Compare the similar description of the parting of the sea at Exod 14:21: וישם את הים לחרבה ויבקעו המים "And he made the sea into dry land and the waters were split" (cf. Exod 14:16, 22, 29). Another option is to understand the "Earth" of day 1, an earth whose initial hyponymous features are the ocean and the waters, as a sediment infused slurry whose sediment remains behind to form the dry land as the water collects to form the seas on day 3. While this explanation may seem more involved than the text can sustain, note Runia's discussion in relation to Philo's exposition of day 3 and ancient Greek cosmogonies (Runia, *On the Creation*, 181). For the meaning "ocean" for the noun תהום, see Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction*, 44–7.

[57] *Opif*. 15: περιέχει γὰρ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἐξαίρετον, ὡς ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος μηνύει. The translation here assumes that ἐξαίρετον means "an exceptional thing" as a reference to the noetic cosmos and that ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος refers to the biblical account about day one (See Runia, *On the Creation*, 135–37).

[58] Runia, *On the Creation*, 165.

[59] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀσώματος κόσμος ἤδη πέρας εἶχεν ἱδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ, ὁ δ᾽ αἰσθητὸς πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο "Now that the incorporeal cosmos had been completed and established in the divine Logos, the sense-perceptible cosmos began to be formed as a perfect offspring, with the incorporeal serving as model" (Runia, *On the Creation*, 54).

biblical text here, is forced to describe the earth of Gen 1:9–10 as an aesthetic one only through implication in his exposition. This betrays the fact that his exposition becomes eisegetical at this point. Accordingly, Philo's categories of noetic and aesthetic cannot accurately represent the categories operative in the shared bipartite division of the dwelling and the Hexaemeron since the narrative demands continuity in the referent "earth" between days 1 and 3. The same may be said for Josephus' cosmological categories of heavens and earth/sea since it is clear that day 1, corresponding to the holiest holy place, includes both the heavens *and* the earth and not simply the heavens alone and days 2–6, corresponding to the holy place, includes the phenomenal heavens in addition to the earth and seas.

Having thus found neither Philo nor Josephus to accurately represent the shared categories in the bipartite division of the dwelling and the Hexaemeron, the exegete is forced to expound the matter anew without precedent. Yet having already worked out the cosmology of the Hexaemeron, the symbolism becomes fairly self-evident. The heavens created on day 1 are the heavenliest of heavens and, except for Gen 2:1, are spoken of no more outside of that day in the narrative. The earth, also created on day 1, is clearly the main focus from v. 2 and continues throughout the narrative. These heavens and this earth are presented as originally joined entities until day 2 when the congealment, i.e., the phenomenal earthly heavens, is made which serves to divide the heavenliest of heavens off from the earth. It is beginning with day 2 that the narrative focuses exclusively on the earth, first on the preparation of the three earthly habitats and then on the population of those habitats. The bipartite structure of the Hexaemeron therefore involves the categories of *a united cosmos* and *a habitable earth*:

The United Cosmos	***The Habitable Earth***
The Holiest Holy Place	**The Holy Place**
Day 1 Gen 1:1–5	**Days 2–6** Gen 1:6–31

So far the discussion has focused on how the bipartite structure of the Hexaemeron relates to the dwelling in a general way. Yet in order to solidify the connection between the Hexaemeron and the dwelling more precisely, let us turn to consider the most sacred of places, the holiest holy place.

ONE

The Holiest Holy Place

The holiest holy place of the dwelling is associated with day 1 of the Hexaemeron. An

exposition of day 1 (Gen 1:1–5) begins with the seven works explicated for this day in *Jubilees*:

> For on the first day he created ***the highest heavens*** and ***the earth*** and ***the waters*** and ***all the spirits who minister before him*** … ***the depths***, ***darkness*** with evening, ***light*** with dawn, which he prepared in the knowledge of his heart. [3] … seven great works he made on the first day.[60]

The identification of these seven works is confirmed by Philo:

> First, therefore, the maker made ***an incorporeal heaven*** and ***an invisible earth*** and a form of air and of the void. To the former he assigned the name ***darkness***, since the air is black by nature, to the latter the name ***abyss*** because the void is indeed full of depths and gaping. He then made the incorporeal being of ***water*** and of ***spirit***, and as seventh and last of all of ***light***, which once again was incorporeal and was also the intelligible model of the sun and all the other light-bearing stars which were to be established in heaven.[61]

The identification of these seven works is also confirmed by *Midrash Tadshe*:

> On day 1, 7: ***The heavens*** and ***the earth*** and ***the waters*** and ***the darkness*** and ***the wind*** and ***the depths*** and ***the light***.[62]

Although there has been some elaboration on them in all three of these sources, the seven works intended are easily found in the text of Genesis itself:

> בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ׃ והארץ היתה תהו ובהו וחשך על פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים׃ ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי אור׃ וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך׃ ויקרא אלהים לאור יום ולחשך קרא לילה ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד׃

[60] See *Appendix: The Hebrew Text of* Jubilees *2:2–3* in this paper for the retroverted Hebrew text behind this translation.

[61] Runia, *On the Creation*, 53; *Opif*. 29: πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν καὶ κενοῦ· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπειδὴ μέλας ὁ ἀὴρ τῇ φύσει, τὴν δ᾽ ἄβυσσον, πολύβυθον γὰρ τό γε κενὸν καὶ ἀχανές· εἶθ᾽ ὕδατος ἀσώματον οὐσίαν καὶ πνεύματος καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἑβδόμου φωτός, ὃ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα καὶ πάντων ὅσα φωσφόρα ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλε συνίστασθαι.

[62] *Midr. Tadshe* 6:9: ביום א׳ ז׳ השמים והארץ והמים והחשך והרוח והתהומות והאור.

> At first, *Elohim* created ***the heavens*** and ***the earth***. Yet the earth was a barren waste, with ***darkness*** over the surface of ***the ocean*** and ***the wind of Elohim*** circulating over the surface of ***the waters***. So *Elohim* said, "Let there be light," then there was ***light***. And *Elohim* saw that the light was good. So *Elohim* divided between the light and the darkness. Then *Elohim* called the light "Day," but the darkness he called "Night." And there was evening and there was morning, one day.

A number of observations can be made now that the seven works of day 1 have been identified:

> **1:1** The inclusion of the heavens and the earth among the seven works of day 1 means that v. 1 is intended to be read as an independent clause.[63]
> • The inclusion of the heavens and the earth on day 1 indicates that this day cannot be strictly associated with the heavens alone.
> • Conceptually the heavens and earth stand in an vertical relationship with the heavens situated over the earth.
> **1:2** The statement that the earth was "a barren waste" does not necessitate that the heavens were in such a state.
> • The inclusion of "the wind of *Elohim*" among the seven works of day 1 indicates that it too is necessarily a created work. As such, the meaning cannot be "the Spirit of *Elohim*," as if the word רוח here refers to the being of the divinity. While the word's use with the verb "circulating"[64] suggests the translation "wind" in the present context, this wind is actually the expired "breath" of *Elohim*. As such, it is a numinous wind which indirectly evidences the unseen divine presence.
> • The text situates the darkness over the ocean and the wind over the waters in the same way that the heavens are situated over the earth. The darkness and the wind are thus best understood as hyponymous features of the heavens with the ocean and the waters best understood as hyponymous features of the earth.[65] This means that the creation of these four works, although not explicitly stated in the text, accompanies the creation of the heavens and earth in v. 1.[66]

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[63] See Mebaqqer, *Understanding* בראשית.

[64] Heb. מרחפת. Lit., "circling." Compare Deut 32:11 (M): "As an eagle *protects* (**יעיר**) its nest, over his own fledglings ***he circles*** (**ירחף**)" and the Ugaritic text KTU 1.18 IV:30–31: "over him eagle[s] ***circled*** (*trḥpn*), a flock of hawk[s] looked down." For the meaning "to protect" for the verb יעיר in Deut 32:11, see Hendrik G. L. Peels, "On the Wings of the Eagle (Dtn 32,11) — An Old Misunderstanding," *ZAW* 106/2 (1994): 300–303. One may also note the translation מנשבא "blowing" for "circulating" in the Jewish and Samaritan Targums.

[65] Compare Tsumura's statements on the hyponymity of ארץ and תהום alone (Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction*, 58–63).

[66] This answers Rashi's objection that the sudden mention of the waters in v. 2 indicates that v. 1 should not to be read as an independent clause.

• The ocean and waters in turn are hyponymous with the ocean conceptually encompassing the waters.[67]

1:3 Although the light is not spatially situated in the text, its opposing relation to the darkness implies that it is a later added hyponymous feature of the heavens.

1:4 The statement "*Elohim* divided between the light and the darkness" could be understood to mean that the divinity interposed between the light and the darkness to effect the division.[68]

• The evaluation of light as "good" implies that the darkness was not.

The relationships between the seven works of day 1 observed thus far may now be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Day 1
Gen 1:1–5</td><td>1. Heavens</td><td>7. Light
"Day"</td><td>5. Wind of Elohim</td><td>3. Darkness
"Night"</td></tr>
<tr><td>2. Earth</td><td colspan="3">6. Waters

4. Ocean</td></tr>
</table>

Now it has already been noted that Philo associates day 1 with a noetic cosmos. Yet it is technically not the day itself which constitutes the noetic cosmos in Philo's exposition, *but what the day contains*, i.e., its works.[69] Thus properly speaking, it is actually the seven works of day 1 which constitute the noetic cosmos. These works should therefore parallel Philo's exposition of the dwelling in which he maintains that the coffer for the testimony (ארון העדות) contained within the holiest holy place "is the symbol of the noetic cosmos."[70] Yet when one considers the details, Philo's exposition of the coffer for the testimony is found to greatly depart from his exposition of day 1. Philo's understanding of the symbolism of the coffer for the testimony is laid out in its greatest detail in *QE* 2.68.[71] There he writes in part,

> And the ark symbolically contains all things that are established in the innermost sanctuary: the incorporeal cosmos, the ordinances that (Scripture) has called "testimonies," (i.e.) the legislative and punitive power, the mercy-seat, (i.e.) the gracious and beneficent (power), and the (powers) on top, (i.e.) the creative (power), which is the source of the gracious and beneficent (power), and the

[67] Compare the phrase "waters of the great ocean" (מי תהום רבה) in Isa 51:1.

[68] Compare Gen 1:7: "And it [=the congealment] divided between the waters … and the waters …" (cf. Gen 1:6: "so that it [=the congealment] may maintain a division") and Exod 26:33: "so that the veil may divide for YOU between the holy place and the holiest holy place."

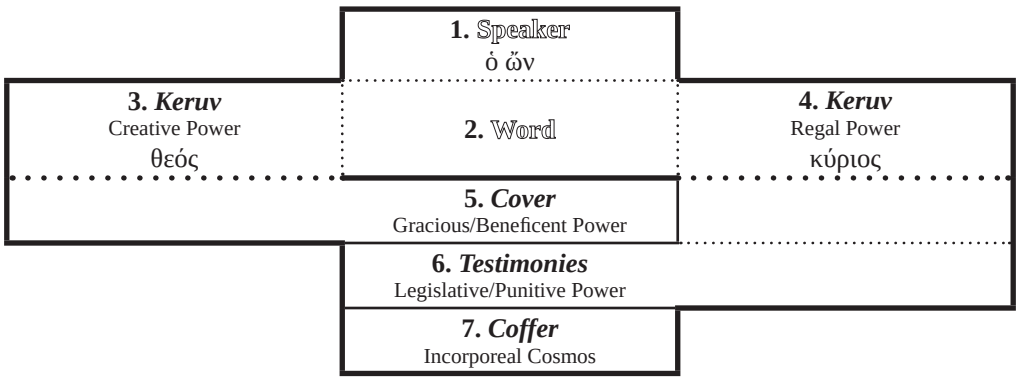
[69] *Opif*. 15: "it [=day one] contains the noetic cosmos" (περιέχει … τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον).

[70] *QE* 2.68.4: ἔστι δὲ κιβωτὸς κόσμου νοητοῦ σύμβολον. The Greek text is preserved in Vaticanus gr. 379 (See James R. Royse, "Philo of Alexandria *Quaestiones In Exodum* 2.62–68: Critical Edition," *SPhiloA* 24 (2012): 1–68).

[71] Discussions relevant to Philo's understanding are also found in *Cher*. 27–30; *Sacr*. 59-60; *Her*. 165–166; *Fug*. 100–101 and *Mos*. 2.95–100 and *QE* 4.8.

kingly, which is the root of the punitive and legislative (power). The divine Logos, being in the middle, is superior, and above the Logos (is) He who speaks.[72]

Philo's understanding may be diagrammed as follows:[73]



Now apart from the fact that Philo's exposition of the symbolism of the coffer for the testimony bares little resemblance to his exposition of the works of day 1, there is evidence that this exposition originates with him and thus does not accurately represent a more ancient priestly tradition. This is clear from *Cher*. 27–29 where Philo explains how this understanding is something that came from his own soul through divine inspiration. Here, as in *Mos*. 2.98–99, Philo also contrasts his own preferred "ethical interpretation" to lesser "astronomical interpretations" which appear to derive from foreign allegorists.[74] This again forces the exegete to expound the matter anew.

Yet as was the case with the categories utilized by Philo for the shared bipartite division of the Hexaemeron and the dwelling, so too does Philo's reference to the coffer for the testimony have something to commend to it even if the particulars of his exposition cannot be accepted. Thus turning to consider the coffer for the testimony, the instructions for its construction are given in Exod 25:10–22. These instructions indicate that this furnishing is composed of four main elements: the ארון "coffer," the כפרת "cover" and the two כרוב "keruv." The following associations immediately present themselves once these four elements are considered together with the seven works of day 1:

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[72] Royse, "*In Exodum* 2.62–68," 39; *QE* 2.68.4: ἔχει δὲ τὰ πάντα ἱδρυμένα ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτάτοις ἁγίοις συμβολικῶς ἡ κιβωτός, τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, τὰ νόμιμα ἃ κέκληκε μαρτύρια (τὴν νομοθετικὴν καὶ κολαστήριον δύναμιν), τὸ ἱλαστήριον (τὴν ἵλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιν), τὰς ὑπεράνω τήν τε ποιητικήν, ἥτις ἐστὶ πηγὴ τῆς ἵλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιδος, καὶ τὴν βασιλικήν, ἥτις ἐστὶ ῥίζα τῆς κολαστηρίου καὶ νομοθετικῆς. ὑπερβάλλεται δὲ μέσος ὧν ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ λέγων (See Royse, "*In Exodum* 2.62–68," 38).

[73] For the Greek designations, see *Abr*. 121, *Mos*. 2.99 and *Spec*. 1.307.

[74] See Ekaterina Matusova, "Allegorical Interpretation of the Pentateuch in Alexandria: Inscribing Aristobulus and Philo in a Wider Literary Context," *SPhiloA* 22 (2010): 1–51, esp. 11–13. It seems to me that the verbiage in *Cher*. 21–30 "Now perhaps [1st interpretation] … But perhaps [2nd interpretation] … But I have heard once [preferred interpretation]" (μήποτε οὖν … μήποτε δὲ … ἤκουσα δέ ποτε) and in *Mos*. 2.98–99 "Now some affirm [= 2nd interpretation] … But I would say [preferred interpretation]" (ταῦτα δέ τινες μέν φασιν … ἐγὼ δ' ἂν εἴποιμι …) shows that the contrasting interpretations are not Philo's own as some translations imply.

Day 1 Gen 1:1–5 + **Coffer for the Testimony** Exod 25:10–22	***Heavens***	***Keruv*** *Light* *"Day"*	*Wind of Elohim*	***Keruv*** *Darkness* *"Night"*
	Earth		***Cover*** *Waters* ***Coffer*** *Ocean*	

From the configuration of features it is clear that, like the works of day 1, the coffer for the testimony as a whole likewise symbolizes the united cosmos. The cover being placed over the coffer symbolizes the waters which top off the ocean and thereby represent the earthly portion of the united cosmos. The contraposed keruvs symbolize the opposing works of light and darkness. And although the unseeable wind does not appear to be visually represented, Exod 25:22 (M) situates the divine presence it evidences in the expected location: "Then I will rendezvous with you there and speak with you from above the cover — from between the two keruvs that are on the coffer for the testimony — all that I will command you to the sons of Yisra'el."[75] Thus all three features representing the heavenly portion of the united cosmos are indeed present. The associations between the works of creation on day 1 and the coffer for the testimony are thus straightforward and clear. Still further associations may be found in the remaining furnishings of the holy place, e.g., the veil represents the congealment, but these will not be detailed here.

Confirmation

The exposition of day 1 above finds some confirmation in one of the finds from among the Dead Sea Scrolls — the *Two Spirits Treatise* embedded in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS III 13–IV 26). Newsom notes regarding this treatise,

> [T]here is one identifiable text with which 1QS 3–4 has a particularly marked relationship: Genesis 1. The reader is made aware of this relationship through the number of words common to both texts: מיני, אותות, צבאות, ברא, ממשלת, מלא, חושך, אור, תולדות. That a relationship between these two texts exists is clear enough, but the nature of the relationship is less clear. The text of 1QS 3–4 cannot be said to be an exegesis of Genesis 1 in any straightforward sense. The individual words are not necessarily used in comparable contexts. But the thick cross-referencing of vocabulary suggests that one cannot fully understand 1QS

[75] ונועדתי לך שם ודברתי אתך מעל הכפרת מבין שני הכרבים אשר על ארן העדת את כל אשר אצוה אותך אל בני ישראל. Note how just as the wind of *Elohim* indirectly evidences the unseen divine presence in Genesis 1:2, so too does "the voice" (הקול) between the keruvs indirectly evidence the unseen divine presence in Num 7:89.

3–4 without understanding its relationship to Genesis 1.[76]

Newsom's characterization that the *Two Spirits Treatise* "cannot be said to be an exegesis of Genesis 1" is understandable given the lack of a clear understanding of the narrative structure of the Hexaemeron within scholarship. Yet once the narrative structure is recognized, it is clear that it provides the key to understanding the relation between the *Two Spirits Treatise* and Genesis 1. Consider the following statement from near the beginning of the treatise:

> והואה ברא אנוש לממשלת תבל וישם לו שתי רוחות להתהלכ בם עד מועד פקודתו הנה רוחות האמת והעול במעין אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושכ תולדות העול ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד מלאך חושך כול ממשלת בני עול ובדרכי חושכ יתהלכו

> He created man to rule all the world, and he assigned two spirits to him that he might walk by them until the appointed time of his visitation; they are the spirits of truth and of injustice. From a spring of light come the generations of truth, and from a well of darkness the generations of injustice. Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights, and they walk in the ways of light; complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness.[77]

Now it is most certain that the figures of the prince of lights and the angel of darkness are derived from the mention of light and darkness in Gen 1:2–5. Newsom puts the situation this way based on her understanding,

> It is not just that 1QS 3–4 is to be read in the light of Genesis 1, but that henceforth Genesis 1 must be read in the light of 1QS 3–4. The effect, when one does this, is quite striking. Consider Gen 1:4b–5: "God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light day and the darkness he called night. And there was evening and there was morning—day one." Where formerly this statement disclosed only God's organization of the created world, now it alludes as well to an antecedent spiritual reality that informs the structures of creation: "From a spring of light come the generations of truth, and from a well of darkness the generations of perversity. . . . He created the spirits of light and of darkness, and upon them he founded every deed" (1QS 3:19, 25; trans.

[76] Carol A. Newsom, *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (*STDJ* 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 86. (Italics added).

[77] Sarianna Metso, *The Community Rule: A Critical Edition With Translation* (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2019), 23.

> Knibb, adapted). Even the aesthetic feature of balanced pairs in Genesis 1 now takes on a moral resonance.[78]

Yet it is to be observed that within the narrative structure of Genesis 1 the creation of light and its division from darkness take place in the higher spiritual heavens (= the heavenliest of heavens), not the lower physical heavens (= the congealment). So the view that the light and darkness spoken of in 1QS are part of "an antecedent spiritual reality" which exists prior to the creation of the habitable earth and its inhabitants actually follows from the text. Furthermore, the correspondence of light and darkness with the two keruvs of the coffer indicates that these spiritual realities are not mere abstractions, but are personifiable beings. Therefore the appearance of the figures of the prince of lights and the angel of darkness in the *Two Spirits Treatise* is quite understandable. Finally, Genesis itself imputes a certain moral dimension to light and darkness with its evaluative statement "And *Elohim* saw that the light was good," the implication being that the darkness was not (cf. Gen 1:4). Thus the teaching of the *Two Spirits Treatise* does indeed appear to derive from an exegesis of Genesis 1. Yet the perception of this requires one first know its narrative structure and understand the related symbolism of the dwelling.

Conclusion

Discussion began with the observation that commentators generally describe the narrative structure of the Hexaemeron as one in which eight creative acts are divided into two triads of days. It was also noted how some scholars have found problems with this symmentrical structure, one even going so far as to call for an abandonment of the efforts to uncover a logical arrangment within the six day scheme. Now one can see why these efforts were destined to fail from the start; the presumption of a *symmetrical* arrangement encompassing *eight* creative acts made the exercise futile. This has been shown by the recovery of the actual narrative structure here in which the twenty-two works of creation are distributed both bipartitely and tripartitely throughout the six days in a complementary manner. The bipartite division organizes the six days and is associated with the two compartments of the dwelling. The tripartite division organizes the twenty-two works that are associated with the furnishings within the dwelling. The narrative of the Hexaemeron is therefore intimately linked to the structure of the dwelling and intends to provide a literary description of the realities symbolized in the features of the dwelling and its furnishings. Having now explicated the actual narrative structure of the Hexaemeron with this paper, exegetes will have a much surer foundation from which to give their expositions going forward.

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[78] Newsom, *Symbolic Space*, 86–7.

Es iſt für mich unbegreiflich, wie Alle Augen, die über dieſem Stück in ſo viel Jahrhunderten und Nationen geweſen, einen Plan haben überſehen können, zu dem man gewiß Nichts mehr, als Augen nöthig hat, und der ſo wichtig iſt, daß er uns ohne alle Phyſiſche und Dogmatiſche Tafeln gerade an der anſchaulichen Sache veſt hält. Ich habe nicht auf die Spur kommen können, daß ihn Jemand vor mir entwickelt; es ſollte mich aber wundern, wenn ihn jemand nach mir überſehen oder verwerfen könnte.

— Johann Gottfried Herder, *Fragmente zu einer „Archäologie des Morgenlandes“*. 1769, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol. 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), 38.

Νοείσθω τοίνυν ὡς γέγραπται.

Hence let one comprehend as it has been written.

— Basil, *Homiliae in hexaemeron* 9.1

Outline of the Narrative Structure of the Hexaemeron

I. The Holiest Holy Place (⅓) — *The United Cosmos*

A. Aliquot 1 (⅓) [**1 Day**] — *The Origin of the Heavens and the Earth*

1. One Day (Gen 1:1–5): 7 Works (Jub 2:3)
   - "At first, *Elohim* created" (Gen 1:1)
     - א 01. Heavens
     - ב 02. Earth
     - ג 03. Darkness — "Night"
     - ד 04. Ocean
     - ה 05. Wind of *Elohim*
     - ו 06. Waters
   - "So *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:3)
     - ז 07. Light — "Day"
   - "And there was evening and there was morning, one day" (Gen 1:5)

II. The Holy Place (⅔) — *The Habitable Earth*

B. Aliquot 2 (⅓) [**2 Days**] — *The Preparation of Habitats*

2. Second Day (Gen 1:6–8): 1 Work (Jub 2:4)
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:6) [**1 Work^{I}**]
     - ח 08. Congealment — "Heavens"
   - "And there was evening and there was morning, a second day" (Gen 1:8)
3. Third Day (Gen 1:9–13): 4 Works (Jub 2:7)
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:9) [**2 Works^{I}**]
     - ט 09. Dry Land — "Earth"
     - י 10. Collection(s) of the Waters — "Sea(s)"
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:11) [**2 Works^{II}**]
     - כ 11. Seed Sowing Herbage
     - ל 12. Fruit Producing Arborage
   - "And there was evening and there was morning, a third day" (Gen 1:13)

C. Aliquot 3 (⅓) [**3 Days**] — *The Population of Habitats*

4. Fourth Day (Gen 1:14–19): 3 Works (Jub 2:10)
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:14) [**3 Works^{I}**]
     - מ 13. Greater Luminary
     - נ 14. Lesser Luminary
     - ס 15. Stars
   - "And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day" (Gen 1:19)
5. Fifth Day (Gen 1:20–23): 3 Works (Jub 2:12)
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:20) [**3 Works^{II}**]
     - ע 16. Great Serpents
     - פ 17. Pervading Creatures
     - צ 18. Flying Creatures
   - "And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day" (Gen 1:23)
6. The Sixth Day (Gen 1:24–31): 4 Works (Jub 2:14)
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:24) [**3 Works^{III}**]
     - ק 19. Wild Creatures
     - ר 20. Docile Creatures
     - ש 21. Scurrying Creatures
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:26)
     - ת 22. Mankind
   - "Then *Elohim* said" (Gen 1:29)
     - Provision of Food
   - "And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day" (Gen 1:31)

Diagram of the Narrative Structure of the Hexaemeron

<table>
<tr><th colspan="5">The Holiest Holy Place</th><th colspan="6">The Holy Place</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="5">Aliquot 1
The Origin of the Heavens and the Earth</th><th colspan="3">Aliquot 2
The Preparation of Habitats</th><th colspan="3">Aliquot 3
The Population of Habitats</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">יום אחד
One Day
Gen 1:1–5</td><td>1. Heavenliest of Heavens</td><td>7. Light “Day”</td><td>5. Wind of Elohim</td><td>3. Darkness “Night”</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">2. Earth</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">6. Waters

4. Ocean</td><td>יום שני
Second Day</td><td>I. Gen 1:6–8</td><td>8. Congealment “Heavens”</td><td>יום רביעי
Fourth Day</td><td>III. Gen 1:14–19</td><td>13. Greater Luminary
14. Lesser Luminary
15. Stars</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">יום שלישי
Third Day</td><td rowspan="2">II. Gen 1:9–10</td><td>9. Collection(s) of Waters “Sea(s)”</td><td>יום חמישי
Fifth Day</td><td>III. Gen 1:20–23</td><td>16. Great Serpents
17. Pervading Creatures
18. Flying Creatures</td></tr>
<tr><td>10. Dry Land “Earth”</td><td rowspan="3">יום הששי
The Sixth Day</td><td>III. Gen 1:24–25</td><td>19. Wild Creatures
20. Docile Creatures
21. Scurrying Creatures</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Gen 1:26–28</td><td>22. Mankind</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">The United Cosmos</td><td>II. Gen 1:11–13</td><td>11. Seed Sowing Herbage
12. Fruit Producing Arborage</td><td></td><td>Gen 1:29–31</td><td>Provision of Food</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5"></td><td colspan="6">The Habitable Earth</td></tr>
</table>

MEBAQQER מבקר

Appendix: The Hebrew Text of Jubilees 2:2–3

2:2 כִּי בַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן בָּרָא אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם הָעֶלְיוֹנִים וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת־הַמַּיִם וְאֵת
כָּל־הַרוּחוֹת הַמְשָׁרְתִים לְפָנָיו ... אֶת־הַתְּהוֹמוֹת מַאְפֵּלָה וָעֶרֶב וְאוֹר וְשַׁחַר
אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין בְּדַעַת לִבּוֹ׃ 3 ... שִׁבְעָה מַעֲשִׂים גְּדוֹלִים עָשָׂה בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן׃

2:2 For on the first day he created ***the highest heavens*** and ***the earth*** and ***the waters*** and ***all the spirits who minister before him*** … ***the depths***, ***darkness*** with evening and ***light*** with dawn, which he prepared in the knowledge of his own heart. 3 … seven great works he made on the first day.

This partial retroversion of the Hebrew text of *Jub*. 2:2–3 is based on the following considerations:

1. The Greek translation may be retroverted on the basis of Epiphanius' paraphrase in conjunction with the Ge'ez translation:

2:2 *Τῇ γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς ἀνωτέρους, τὴν γῆν, τὰ ὕδατα, πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, … τὰς ἀβύσσους, τὸ σκότος καὶ ἑσπέρα, τὸ φῶς καὶ ὄρθρος, ἣν ἡτοίμασεν ἐν συνέσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ. 3 … τὰ ἑπτὰ μέγιστα ἔργα ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

2:2 *For on the first day he made ***the heavens which are higher***$_{1}$, ***the earth***$_{2}$, ***the waters***$_{3}$, ***all the spirits that minister before him***$_{4}$, … ***the abysses***$_{5}$, ***the darkness***$_{6}$ and *evening*$_{a}$, ***the light***$_{7}$ and *dawn*$_{b}$, which he prepared in the understanding of his heart. 3 … seven great works he made on the first day.

‣ Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 21.22 (ed. Moutsoulas):[1]

Τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς ἀνωτέρους, τὴν γῆν, τὰ ὕδατα ἐξ ὧν ἐστι χιὼν καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ χάλαζα καὶ παγετοὶ καὶ δρόσος, τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ … τὰς ἀβύσσους, τήν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους, τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ποτὲ ἐπάνω τῆς

[1] VanderKam's edition cites Denis' 1970 edition of Epiphanius which reproduces Petavius' 1622 edition rather than Moutsoulas' 1973 edition. The Syriac evidence supports Moutsoulas' edition: ܕܒܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܒܪܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ ... ܘܬܗܘܡܬܐ ܕܐܦܠ ܘܥܪܒ ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܫܚܪ ܕܗܘ ܡܬܟܢ ܒܪܥܝܬ ܠܒܗ ... ܘܫܒܥ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܒܕ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ.

γῆς, ἐξ οὗ περ σκότος, ἑσπέρα καὶ νύξ, τὸ φῶς ἡμέρας τε καὶ ὄρθρου.

On the first day: ***the heavens which are higher***$_{1}$, ***the earth***$_{2}$, ***the waters***$_{3}$, from which comes snow and ice and hail and frosts and dew, ***the spirits that minister before him***$_{4}$ … ***the abysses***$_{5}$, that beneath the earth as well as the chasm, ***the darkness***$_{6}$ which was above the abyss of the waters that were once over the earth, from which darkness are *evening*$_{a}$ and night, ***the light***$_{7}$ of day as well as of *dawn*$_{b}$.

‣ *Jub*. 2:2–3, Ge’ez translation (ed. VanderKam):

2:2 እስመ፡ በዕለት፡ ቀዳሚት፡ ፈጠረ፡ ሰማያተ፡ እለ፡ መልዕልት፡ ወምድረ፡ ወማያተ፡ ወኵሉ፡ መንፈስ፡ ዘይትለአክ፡ ቅድሜሁ፡ … ቀላያት፡ ወጽልመት፡ ወብርሃን፡ ወጎሕ፡ ወምሴት፡ ዘአስተዳለወ፡ በአእምሮ፡ ልቡ። 3 … ሰብዓተ፡ ግብረ፡ ዐበይተ፡ ገብረ፡ በቀዳሚት፡ ዕለት።

2:2 For on the first day he created ***the heavens which are higher***$_{1}$ and ***the earth***$_{2}$ and ***the waters***$_{3}$ and ***all the spirits that minister before him***$_{4}$, … ***the abysses***$_{5}$ and ***darkness***$_{6}$ and ***light***$_{7}$ and *dawn*$_{b}$ and *evening*$_{a}$ which he prepared in the knowledge of his heart. 3 … seven great works he made on the first day.

• The retroversion of the Greek translation assumes that Epiphanius’ relative clauses clarifying the waters, the abysses and the darkness as well as the inclusion of night and day have been secondarily introduced by Epiphanius. This accounts for their absence in the Ge’ez translation.
• The retroversion assumes that Epiphanius retains the correct order of ***darkness***$_{6}$ → *evening*$_{a}$ → ***light***$_{7}$ → *dawn*$_{b}$. It is proposed here that the second item was moved to the fourth position in the Ge’ez translation to create a new order of ***darkness***$_{6}$ → ***light***$_{7}$ → *dawn*$_{b}$ → *evening*$_{a}$.
• The antecedent of the singular relative pronoun **ዘ-** in the Ge’ez translation is the noun **ምሴት** “evening” given the order of the four items in that translation. This would reflect a *Vorlage* which read *… καὶ ἑσπέρα, ἣν … “… and evening, which …” in Greek. However, the singular antecedent of the relative pronoun with the order found in Epiphanius calls for a retroversion of *… καὶ ὄρθρος, ὃν … “… and dawn, which …” A text with dawn as the antecedent of the relative clause is supported by a similar statement in the psalm “Hymn to the Creator” in 11QPs^{a} [11Q5] xxvi:11–12:

מבדיל אור מאפלה
שחר הכין בדעת לבו

Dividing light from deep darkness,
dawn he prepared in the knowledge of his heart.

2. The Hebrew text may be retroverted on the basis of the retroverted Greek translation in conjunction with the fragmentary Hebrew text of *Jub*. 2:2–3 preserved in 4QJub[a]:

כי ביום הראשון ברא את השמים העליונים ואת הארץ ואת המים ואת 2:2
כל הרוחות המשרתים לפניו ... את התהומות מאפלה וערב ואור ושחר
אשר הכין בדעת לבו: 3 ... שבעה מעשים גדולים עשה ביום הראשון:

2:2 For on the first day he created ***the highest heavens***$_1$ and ***the earth***$_2$ and ***the waters***$_3$ and ***all the spirits who minister before him***$_4$ … ***the depths***$_5$, ***darkness***$_6$ with *evening*$_a$ and ***light***$_7$ with *dawn*$_b$, which he prepared in the knowledge of his own heart. 3 … seven great works he made on the first day.

‣ 4QJub[a] [4Q216] v:4–10 (cf. ed. Qimron)

כי ביום הראשון ברא את השמ֯ים העליונים ואת האר֯ץ ואת המים ואת 2:2
כל הרוחות המשרתים לפניו ... את תה֯ומות מאפלה ושחר ו֯אור וערב אשר
הכין בד֯עתו: 3 ... שבעה מ֯עשים גדו֯לים ע֯שה ביום הראשון:

2:2 For on the first day he created ***the highest heavens***$_1$ and ***the earth***$_2$ and ***the waters***$_3$ and ***all the spirits who minister before him***$_4$ … ***the depths***$_5$, ***darkness***$_6$ and *dawn*$_b$ and ***light***$_7$ and *evening*$_a$, which he prepared in his knowledge. 3 … seven great works he made on the first day.

• Space considerations in 4QJub[a] confirm that Epiphanius' relative clauses clarifying the waters, the abysses and the darkness as well as the inclusion of night and day were not present in the Hebrew text.
• The extant text of 4QJub[a] suggests a third order of ***darkness***$_6$ → *dawn*$_b$ → ***light***$_7$ → *evening*$_a$. VanderKam explains, "The other items, which should constitute the final two of the seven works on the first day, involve four nouns: darkness and dawn, light and evening. Since, however, the writer explicitly declares that there were seven works on this day (2:3), the four should be construed as two pairs: darkness/dawn and light/evening." While accepting VanderKam's view that the final four items should constitute two pairs, it is clear that the pairs of "darkness/dawn" and "light/evening" do not constitute *logical* pairings. Instead, the order of the extant first two items suggests that the four items are ordered as a group according to the cycling of a day from evening to evening. The order thus appears to be another variant. On the other hand, Epiphanius' pairings,

derived from the Greek translation, do constitute logical pairings: ***darkness***$_6$/*evening*$_a$ and ***light***$_7$/*dawn*$_b$. The Ge'ez translation likewise logically pairs the four items: ***darkness***$_6$/***light***$_7$ and *dawn*$_b$/*evening*$_a$. However, as explained above, this ordering appears to be secondary. The original order is therefore preserved either in 4QJub[a] or by Epiphanius. While the fact that the 4QJub[a] is in the original language speaks in its favor, its order according to the cycling of a day is not what one would expect in a list of works to be talied. This leaves the order given by Epiphanius as the preferred reading. Yet the author of Jubilees may have expected the read to know from Genesis the intended works and therefore did not feel so bound to list them this ridgedly.

• The retroverted relative pronoun אשר is ambiguous in comparison to the relative pronouns found in the Ge'ez translation and the retroverted Greek translation since it could be understood to refer back to the dawn (or the evening in the case of 4QJub[a]) or to all the works listed. Interestingly, the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Ezra* (*Te'ezaza Sanbat* 70.5–16 (ed. Halévy)), which replaces the relative pronoun with a conjunction, assumes that all the works are intended:

እስመ፡ በዕለት፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ፈጠረ፡ ሰማያተ፡ እለ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ምድር፡ ማያት፡ ወነፋስ። ዘይትለአክ፡ ቀዳሚሁ፡ … ወለኵሉ፡ ቀላያት፡ ወጽልመት፡ ወብርሃን፡ ወሳሕ፡ ወምሴት፡ ወአስተዳለወ፤ አሜሃ፡ በአእምሮ፡ ርእዩ፡… ገብረ፡ ዓቢያተ፡ በቀዳሚት፡ ዕለት።

For on the first day he created ***the heavens which are higher***$_1$, ***the earth***$_2$, ***the waters***$_3$ and ***the spirits that minister before him***$_4$, … *and* ***all the abysses***$_5$ and ***darkness***$_6$ and ***light***$_7$ and *dawn*$_b$ and *evening*$_a$. And he prepared them in his knowledge… he made great things on the first day.[2]

• The extant text of 4QJub[a] suggests a variant of בדעתו "in his knowledge" where the retroverted text reads בדעת לבו "in the knowledge of his heart." The selection of the reading בדעת לבו is supported by the use of the phrase in the psalm "Hymn to the Creator" cited above. On the other hand, the manuscript of the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Ezra cited above supports the simpler reading בדעתו.[3] Either reading could plausibly be the original.

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[2] The text of EMML 6429 (fols. 14r–14v) edited by Haile differs from the manuscript used by Halévy and is much closer to *Jub*. 2:2–3 (ed. VanderKam): **እስመ፡ በዕለ<ት>፡ ቀዳሚት፡ <ፈጠረ>፡ ሰማያተ፡ እ<ለ>፡ መልዕልተ፡ ምድር፡ ወማያ<ት>፡ ወኵ<ሉ>፡ መንፈስ፡ ዘይትለአክ፡ ቅድሜሁ፡ … ቀላያት፡ ወጽልመ<ት>፡ ወብርሃ<ን>፡ ወነ<ሕ>፡ ወምሴ<ት>፡ ዘአስተዳለወ፡ በአእምሮ፡ ልቡ። … ሰ<ብ>ዓተ፡ <ግ>ብረ፡ ዓቢያተ፡ ገብረ፡ በቀዳሚት፡ ዕለት።** For on the first day he created ***the heavens which are higher***, ***the earth*** and ***the waters*** and ***all the spirits that minister before him***, … ***the abysses*** and ***darkness*** and ***light*** and *dawn* and *evening*, which he prepared in the knowledge of his heart… seven great works he made on the first day.

[3] Yet as may be seen from the previous note, the text of EMML 6429 agrees with the Ge'ez translation of *Jub*. 2:2–3 with **በአእምሮ፡ ልቡ።** "in the knowledge of his heart."

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Abstract

Commentators on the book of Genesis regularly ascribe a particular symmetrical arrangement to the narrative structure of the Hexaemeron in which eight creative acts are equally divided into two triads of days. Yet although a number of scholars have noted incongruities in such an arrangement, a better one has yet to be proposed to replace it. This paper details an alternative narrative structure for the Hexaemeron which differs from that assumed by commentators. The narrative structure presented here not only better accounts for the features of the Hexaemeron than a symmetrical arrangement does, but also proves to be more emic to an ancient Israelite perspective. It is therefore hoped that this paper will advance future discussions of Gen 1:1–31 by providing exegetes with a surer foundation from which to give their expositions.

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